

Message Text

PAGE 01 TANANA 01210 240926Z

12
ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 OC-06 CCO-00 PER-01 SSO-00 /016 W
----- 005713

O 240920Z JUL 76
FM AMEMBASSY TANANARIVE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8325
INFO AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE TANANARIVE 1210

TO AF/EX AND A/OC/AF

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: AFSP
SUBJ: TDY COMMUNICATIONS ASSISTANCE

WE HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH NAIROBI BY RADIO JULY 24. NAIROBI HAS
AGREED SUPPLY CRO ASAP. I AM THEREFORE RELEASING WILKINSON
AS OF JULY 25 WITH GREAT APPRECIATION FROM ALL OF US FOR
PROMPT REACTION.SHEINBAUM

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43
ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00

DODE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 USIA-06 PRS-01 /062 W
----- 017350

R 261045Z JUL 76
FM AMEMBASSY TANANARIVE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8327
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TANANARIVE 1210
7. RATSIRAKA IS TRYING TO BUILD A POLITICAL BASE TO
PROLONG HIS HOLD ON POWER, BUT HE DOES NOT PROVIDE THE
LONG-TERM MEASURES TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF THE AVERAGE
MALAGASY. INSTEAD, HE SENDS HIS MINISTERS OUT AS FIREMEN
TO (A) END LABOR DISPUTES, (B) MAKE A SEMBLANCE OF
BRINGING ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT TO VARIOUS PARTS OF THE
COUNTRY, AND (C) GIVE THE POPULACE THE APPEARANCE THAT

THEY ARE IN DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE COUNTRY'S LEADERSHIP. IN FACT, THESE MINISTERS HAVE, AS A GROUP OF INDIVIDUALLY, LITTLE INFLUENCE IN UPPER CIRCLES FOR WHAT PASSES AS DOMESTIC POLICY.

8. LITTLE RED BOOK STRESSES BOTH (A) "DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM" IN ORDER TO CEMENT THE NEW IDEOLOGICAL BASE OF THE COUNTRY AND (B) "DECENTRALIZATION." THIS SEEMING CONFLICT OF THOUGHT IS MISLEADING: IN EFFECT, ALL POWER WILL BE CENTRALIZED, NOTWITHSTANDING THE RHETORIC ABOUT THE "DECISION-MAKING POWER" OF THE FOKONOLONA (VILLAGE COUNCILS); NONCONFORMITY WILL NOT BE TOLERATED. AREMA, RATSIRAKA'S NEW POLITICAL INSTITUTION (THE TERM "PARTY" IS AVOIDED), WILL PRESUMABLY COMBINE A PERSONALITY CULT WITH AN APPARATUS TO CONTROL ALL ASPECTS OF THE COUNTRY'S LIFE. RATSIRAKA ENJOYS BEING AT THE CENTER OF THINGS, AND HE CERTAINLY ENVISIONS 35,000 MALAGASY PERFORMING THE SAME CARD STUNTS OF RATSIRAKA'S PICTURE THAT 35,000 NORTH KOREANS DID DURING HIS JUNE TRIP TO PYONGYANG.

9. RATSIRAKA'S FRUSTRATIONS IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS ARE MANY.
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IN TRYING TO KEEP HIS "TOUS AZIMUTS" POLICY IN BALANCE WHILE PERMITTING GRATER INFLUENCE FROM THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, HE DOES NOT HAVE THE MOST IMPRESSIVE REPRESENTATION FROM THE WEST. THE UK CLOSED ITS EMBASSY IN MARCH AND THE US HAS BEEN WITHOUT AN AMBASSADOR FOR 14 MONTHS. IN APRIL THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR DEPARTED FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD (BECAUSE RATSIRAKA HAD CUT OFF HIS DIRECT CONTACTS WITH CABINET MEMBERS) AND RETURNED IN JUNE ONLY AFTER RATSIRAKA SMOKED A PEACE PIPE WITH GISCARD. BUT RATSIRAKA IS ALSO MIFFED THAT NO BLACK AFRICAN COUNTRY HAS A RESIDENT MISSION IN TANANARIVE, NOR DOES ALGERIA, TO WHICH RATSIRAKA FREQUENTLY LOOKS FOR SPIRITUAL GUIDANCE AND COUNSEL. MOREOVER, HE CANNOT COME AND GO ABROAD AS HE DID AS FOREIGN MINISTER, EVEN TO VISIT HIS AFRICAN BRETHREN OR "PROGRESSIST" CONFRERES.

10. HIS "POLICIES" ARE CONFINED PRIMARILY TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS. HE SUPPORTS ALL LIBERATIONS MOVEMENTS, E.G., POLISARIO. HIS ORDERS TO HIS REPRESENTATIVES IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS (IF THAT CAN BE CONSIDERED "POLICY") ARE TO VOTE DOWN-THE-LINE WITH THE MOST RADICAL STATES, NO MATTER WHAT THE SUBJECT. LOOKING FOR A DOMAIN IN WHICH HE COULD BE VIEWED AS BEING SUPREME, HE HAS CHAMPIONED THE CAUSE OF THE "INDIAN OCEAN ZONE OF PEACE," EVEN THOUGH THERE IS NO INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL THREAT TO MADAGASCAR.

11. HE HAS BEEN EMBARRASSED OVER THE PAST YEAR BY THE ACTIVITIES OF HIS ELDER BROTHER, ETIENNE, WHO HAS BOUGHT

INTO SEVERAL LUCRATIVE ENTERPRISES AND HAS OBTAINED A MAJOR SLICE OF THE COFFEE TRADE (PROBABLY, AT THE SAME TIME, MAKING ILLEGAL PROFITS FROM THE DISPARITY BETWEEN THE CURRENT HIGH WORLD PRICES FOR COFFEE AND THE RELATIVELY LOW PRICES PAID TO THE PRODUCERS). AT HIS MARCH 19 PRESS CONFERENCE, RATSIRAKA WAS AGGRESSIVE IN TRYING TO DEFEND HIMSELF AGAINST VARIOUS ACCUSATIONS (E.G., PARIS BANK ACCOUNTS IN HIS NAME); BUT HE OPENED MORE QUESTIONS THAN THOSE HE ANSWERED. HIS PICTURE APPEARS EVERYWHERE, AND THE ROUTE TO THE AIRPORT WAS LINED BY THOUSANDS WHEN HE RETURNED FROM HIS JUNE 1976 TRIP TO FRANCE AND THE FAR EAST. BUT HE IS NOT LOVED, AND PROBABLY NOT EVEN RESPECTED VERY MUCH BY THE RANK-AND-FILE THAT ONLY RARELY GESTS TO CONFIDENTIAL
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SEE OR HEAR OF THEIR PRESIDENT'S DOINGS.

12. HOW LONG WILL HE LAST? THERE DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE ANY ORGANIZED OPPOSITION MOVEMENT OF ANY SIGNIFICANCE, DESPITE ANDRE RESAMPA'S DULL EFFORTS TO RESTORE LIFE INTO WHAT USED TO BE TSIRANANA'S OLD SOCIALIST PART OF MADAGASCAR. THE MILITARY RETAIN THE BALANCE OF POWER, AS THEY PROVIDE THE ONLY REAL SUPPORT FOR RATSIRAKA, RELUCTANT THOUGH IT MAY BE OVERALL. THEY WOULD ABHOR, EVEN MORE THAN A RADICAL SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT, THE THOUGHT OF NEW VIOLENCE AND UNCERTAINTY WHICH IS NOT IN THE MAKEUP OF THE AVERAGE MALAGASY. THE TRUE ANSWER IS THAT THERE IS A VACUUM: THERE IS NO OTHER POTENTIAL LEADER (MILITARY OR CIVILIAN) ON THE SCENE WHO HAS THE WHEREWITHAL OR THE COURAGE TO ATTEMPT TO UNSEAT RATSIRAKA. HE MAY BE GONE BY DAWN TOMORROW, BUT THAT IS VERY UNLIKELY. HE IS GOOD FOR AT LEAST ANOTHER YEAR IN POWER, PROBABLY MORE THAN THAT, AND DURING THAT TIME IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THERE WILL BE AN IMPROVEMENT IN US-MALAGASY RELATIONS, EVEN THOUGH RATSIRAKA MIGHT WANT IT FOR COSMETIC PURPOSES.

SHEINBAUM

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